WALK
FOR
PEACE
TEN PAGES OF PHOTOS
ALSO IN THIS ISSUE
C. WRIGHT MILLS
ALAN PATON
CULBERT G. RUTENBER

Fellowship

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In these troubled times, pacifism has become a mandate for the witness of the Church, which must no longer condone war as a means to justice. The confident hope of an earlier vision of pacifism, together with the power politics of the nation-state, must be replaced by a purified faith in God as Lord of history.

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COVER PHOTO: Demonstrators carry anti-war art posters to "Fight Against Atomic Death" rally in Hamburg, Germany, April 17, 1958. Photo: Conti-Press by Heinz Fremke.

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

;ENEVA

This is written four miles above the orth Atlantic, en route home from Ge-eva, where your editorialist served as "ad-ance man," press agent, and general fac-tum for the five-man (four men and one oman, really) delegation from American acifism to the current three-power nuclear st conference.[1]

The five pilgrims, with their press agent, sited all three delegations, though to what recise effect the mind of this correspond-nt knoweth not. The British seemed rather ored with the whole thing, and sent a ervous junior member of the delegation see us. Urged to envision Britain as a rec-nciler between the two snarling giants, he coiled hastily and assured us that Her ajesty's Government sees eye-to-eye with e United States, and that nuclear weapons ally have kept the peace.

The Americans hesitated for a while over en seeing a group that included people ho had been sentenced in a federal court, ut finally yielded gracefully and made one *their* junior men (though an older one) ailable to us. He assured us heartily that ur favorite country is in there pitching liantly and would have had the tests nded by this time if it weren't for the ubborn Soviets.

The Soviets gave us the red-carpet treat-ent—ninety minutes in the Hotel Met-pole lounge, complete with Ambassador sarapkin, Dr. Federov, two interpreter-rompters, and seven unidentified individ-als who took their places in a semi-circle ehind us, where they blocked off would-e interrupters and took copious notes.

Ambassador Tsarapkin delivered himself of a poker-faced 25-minute oration in which we were assured that the Soviet Union is in there pitching valiantly and would have had the tests ended long ago if it weren't for the stubborn Westerners. Then, when we had left, the Russians put on the Tass wires the news, which Radio Moscow dutifully broadcast three days later, that the American "fighters for peace" had "expressed their satisfaction with the position of the U.S.S.R." [Note—We hadn't.]

HOPES

For what it's worth, most people in Geneva in touch with the conference are cautiously optimistic that a treaty on test cessation will be signed some time after the delegates reconvene this month. The most optimistic, a journalist who was once foreign minister of his country, figures on early February; most guesses are for three or four months.

Partly their optimism stems from the abruptly positive developments that occurred the week we arrived, when the conferees skipped over their inability to agree on an agenda and began discussing draft articles of a treaty. Partly, also, it grows out of the widespread conviction that failure in this conference would be a disastrous blow to prospects for peace, while success would be a first short step in the direction of disarmament.

OBSERVATIONS

The U.S. delegation is reported not as single-minded as its spokesmen insist. Some members, say observers, are less than enthusiastic about ending the tests. At the same time, there is widespread agreement that the U.S. delegation's head, James Wadsworth, is the "best" man at the conference: able, conciliatory and patient.

The West continues to put its worst foot forward constantly, reacting rather than in-

[1] For the latecomers, the new Committee for onviolent Action, of which FOR is part, asked ie crew of the *Golden Rule* to go to Geneva i its behalf. Three *Golden Rulers* (Bert Bige-w, George Willoughby and Jim Peck) were oined on the trip by Barbara (Mrs. Earle) eynolds and Niichi Mikami of the *Phoenix*.

itiating, sounding sullen rather than determined, frugal with adequate press releases but generous with "leaks." The Soviets, having been raised on Madison Avenue and knowing all about consumer motivation and such, are just the opposite. "We have to protect the West," an important newsman told me. "The Russians put over a good proposal and we put it on the wires, but then we add a 'however' and take the sting out of it." Unhappily for this plan, much of the world doesn't subscribe to the West's press association's services.

Nothing really new has been added to the picture as it looked when we left. The delegations were ambivalent, wanting a treaty but wanting also to score points for their own side in the cold war. Their instructions come from their home offices daily; one secretariat member estimates that the U.S. averages 100 pages a day from Washington on the test conference alone.

If the conference fails, each side will blame the other, and actual responsibility will be hard to fix. If either side decides to torpedo the negotiations, it will not be likely to do so by an open break, but by introducing new proposals, perhaps minor and superficially attractive, but embodying some element known to be unacceptable to the other side. President Eisenhower's recent proposal to add a disarmament measure to the treaty could be such an item if pressed. So could any of a number of items the Soviets refer to from time to time.

PRESSURE

All three delegations will assure you that they are in Geneva because their governments want tests stopped. The fact is that they are there because world public opinion grew to the point that they were compelled to go, whether or not. The fact also is that the likelihood of a successful conclusion to the conference is in direct proportion to the continued pressure of such public opinion.

That is why the meeting in London this month of representatives of the non-Communist anti-test groups in Western European nations is so important. That is why letter-writing in this country, to the White House, Congress and the State Department, may be more important than ever before.

The conferees in Geneva do not disgui their awareness that the more than 2 groups of one sort or another who ha come to Geneva to urge them on, represe a kind of determination they cannot ignor

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CRACKPOT REALISM

BY C. WRIGHT MILLS

TOMORROW MORNING, it is easy to suppose, the equipment of a U. S. radar in somewhere in Canada mechanically ls, or under extreme pressure of time he stakes a dead satellite or a stray meteor an incoming ballistic missile. He tracks toward the industrial heart of the U.S.A. a few minutes his alarm is out, and in a v more—about fifteen minutes in all, we told—the planes of the Strategic Air mmand, from several dozen bases tucked as close as they can get to the U.S.S.R., o in on Soviet industries and cities.

The "fail safe" system of orders comes in- operation, but no mechanical systems foolproof. In the balance of terror, chanical error and human misjudgment unknown statistical probabilities. And danger of miscalculation increases as weapons become greater in power, eed, and range. On either side, should a ost electronic echo on a radar screen trig- the launching of a missile, there are— are told of the U.S. system—only some ee hundred seconds to destroy it after its nching toward its Soviet target. More- er, as nuclear weapons are distributed to ner nations the chances of accident in- ase. American military men, we may sup- se, simply cannot make mistakes, garble lio messages, or, while on flying missions, come mentally deranged. But might not ssians be subject to such accidents? ver the long run," Harry Lustig, a physi- t, has reflected, "it does not matter how all the probability of an accident is per it time; it is mathematically demon- able that as time goes on, this probabil- approaches certainty."

Should accident or breakdown occur, SAC drops its stuff. Or the missile is launched. The Americans have massively retaliated. The Russians retaliate massively. A few hours later the world is a radioactive shambles, a chaos of disaster.

Assuming that anyone is still around and capable of curiosity, what were the causes of World War III? And was anyone responsible for it? Certainly the radar man is not; somebody else sent him there and he followed instructions as best he could. If we follow that chain of instructions we end up in such symbolic centers as Pentagon and White House and Kremlin; out of those centers, too, we follow the network of near-automatic reactions that sent SAC hurtling toward the Soviet.

Just now, the chance of a deliberately planned war is perhaps not as great as is the "accidental" precipitation of war. But the prime conditions of the "accident" are not themselves accidental; they are planned and deliberate. The war mechanism of U.S. men and machines is all set up and triggered to go. It stands opposite a similar mechanism of Soviet design and maintenance. The first cause of World War III is, obviously, the existence of these bureaucratic and lethal machineries. Without them there could be no war.

But who caused these mechanisms to be built and maintained? Certainly not "the Russian people" or "the American people." "All men" have not decided to build and maintain the machineries of the arms race; most men have not been consulted.

At the top of the military hierarchy from which the radar man received his instructions are a few hundred professional military agents. They are in charge and they

se excerpts from *The Causes of World War Three* mon & Schuster 1958), pp. 44-50 & 81-89, are re- nted by permission of the author and publisher. yright © 1958 by C. Wright Mills: not to be roduced in whole or in part in any form.

set up and maintain the U.S. war machine. At the top of the industrial complex which built these machines there are several hundred corporate rich and their executives who run the key sectors of this economy. At the top of the state—to which both military men and corporation executives look—there are a few hundred political directors who, with the aid and advice of military and business elites, make ultimate decisions about the shaping and about the uses of these war machines.

All of it, of course, is "in the name of the nation," but in itself what does that mean? That is a formula of power which may or may not mean something beyond the uses of mere rhetoric. We should never forget that no nation-state is a homogeneous entity, that none is in itself a history-making agent. "It" does not possess decision or will or interest or honor or fright. "Nation" refers to a people occupying a more or less defined territory and organized under the authority of a state or, with some chance of success, claiming such an autonomous organization. The "state," a dominating apparatus, refers to an organization that effectively monopolizes the legitimate means of violence and administration over a defined territory. "Legitimate" means: more or less generally acquiesced in by publics and masses, for reasons in which they believe. In the case of the nation-state these reasons are the symbols and ideologies of nationalism. "Nation" and "state," I think, must be used mainly as adjectives referring to national spokesmen, power elites, and policy-makers. People who are not among such men form the underlying population, which is part of the historical context but which is not itself among the history-makers today.

The causes of this war are not inherent in some vague, historical context of drift and maneuver called "international relations." The causes are seated mainly in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The immediate cause of World War III is the preparation of it. The indispensable condition for this kind of preparation is the fact of the sovereign state as a continental economic domain. International events are increasingly the result of the decisions and the lack of decisions of men who act in the name of these nations and with th means of action made available by the economic, military, and political institutions. The international centralization decision and the internal development the superstates, we have seen, mean th history-making is less a matter of som overwhelming fate than of the decisio and the defaults of two power elites. A cordingly, the viewpoints these elites hol the definitions of reality they accept ar act upon, the policies they espouse and a tempt to realize—these are among the im mediate causes of the thrust toward Wor War III.

And in both Russia and America, th ruling circles are possessed by the milita metaphysic.

Confronted by the buzzing confusion the world in which they live, decision-ma ers regularly seize upon the threat of vi lence as "the real factor." The decidi point in the conflict between Soviet co munism and American capitalism is hel (especially, it now must be admitted, by th elite of the U.S.A.) to be the state of vi lence and the balance of fright. The pivot decision made by the elite is in accordan with this military metaphysic. It is the dec sion, as Lewis Mumford has put it, trying "to solve the problem of absolu power, presented by nuclear weapons, l concentrating their national resources upo instruments of genocide."* It rests upon th dogmatic view—held, I am sure, with si cerity and good intention—that only by a cumulating ever new and ever greater mi tary peril can a condition of peace be cr ated. The key moral fact about it is th virtual absence within ourselves of oppo tion to this definition of world reality, the elites' strategy and policies. The k political and intellectual result is the a sence within Russia and within Americ among publics and masses, of any truly d bated alternatives.

In terms of this metaphysic of violenc elite spokesmen now regularly interchan unpleasantries; their policy-makers pl each other's ruin. Official definitions world reality and virtually all discourse significant public relevance are in th

* "A Moral Emergency," Fellowship, Jan. 1, 19 p. 21.

ıds, and they are at proclamatory war. ch defines his own nation's reality in ms of his owns nation's favorite procla- tions; each defines the reality of the er nation in terms of its worst decisions l actions. Surely their conduct of affairs the key instance today of what Jacob rckhart had in mind a hundred years when he predicted "the age of the ter- le simplifiers."

The arms race is the master line of action lowed by the power elites of the conti- ıtal states. It is not subordinated to and de an instrument of any economic and itical goal. What is the economic and itical goal of the U.S., to which its mili- y actions are a means? The accumulation military power has become an ascendant l in itself; economic and political ma- uvers and hesitations—from imperialist ion in the desert to diplomatic coyness the drawing room—are subordinated to l judged in terms of military forces and tentials. The spokesmen of each side say y know that war is obsolete as a means policy, yet they search for peace by war- e means. The strategic outlook is not de- ively, and certainly not permanently, anged by any one or another turn of the ns race. We are beyond that. The equip- nt in combat readiness on both sides is eady devastating. The development of s equipment is cumulative: One "ulti- te weapon" follows another in geometric ogression, and the base for the accelera- n in both war camps is quite adequate the end in view. Never before has there en an arms race of this sort—a scientific ns race, with a series of ultimate weapons, minated by the strategy of obliteration. every turn of this "competition," each e becomes more edgy and the chances come greater that accidents of character of technology, that the U.S. radar man Canada or his Russian counterpart in beria, will trigger the sudden ending.

But the strategic outlook is the idiot's tlook. It is the fact of this idiot's race at is important, not the score at any given oment, not the alarmist cries which would ghten men from examining its deadly as- mptions. Both the Russian and the Amer- an elites, and intellectuals in both socie- s, are fighting the cold war in the name peace, but the assumptions of their poli- cies and the effects of their interactions have been, and are, increasing the chances of war. War, it is assumed in their military metaphysic, is the most likely outcome of the parallel existence of the two types of political economy. Such is the official lay of the land, the official definition of world reality, the contribution to peace of the nationalist spokesmen among the power elite.

War is now a structural feature of the leading societies of the world; it is also the major activity of identifiable men, performed in the name of the leading states of the world and with their means of national power. World War III, I have been arguing, is being prepared and coldly fought in the name of the sovereign state by the power elites of the [U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.], with the acquiescence of public and masses and the defaults of political men and intellectual workmen.

The history of our time is not a matter of fate. Decisions—and ideas—do count in what is going to happen. Insofar as this is so, I think we may now, in summary, assert the following:

I. The immediate cause of World War III is the military preparation of it. The nature of the arms race is such that it is not and cannot reasonably be considered a cause of peace. Given the new weaponry and the strategic impasse, it cannot be considered a means of any nation's defense, for the distinction between attack and defense is now meaningless.

II. The immediate causes of the arms race are the official definitions of world reality clung to by the elites of the U.S.A. and of the U.S.S.R. These nationalist definitions and ideologies now serve as the mask behind which elite irresponsibility and incompetence are hidden; they are traps for any attempt to reason seriously and adequately about war as a political issue, and about peace as the moral keystone of a human program.

III. The official theory of war—the military metaphysic—is itself among the causes of the thrust toward war. The less adequate one's definitions of reality and the less apt one's program for changing it, the more complex does the scene of action appear.

"Complexity" is not inherent in any phenomena; it is relative to the conceptions with which we approach reality. It is the task of those who want peace to identify causes and to clarify them to the point of action. It is the inadequate definition of world reality and the lack of any imaginative program for peace that make the international scene appear now so complex and hopeless to the American elite, that make perilous those piecemeal reactions which constitute much of U.S. official action and lack of action since the decision to obliterate Hiroshima.

IV. It is in the continual preparation for war that the power elite now finds the major basis for the furthering of the several and the coinciding interests of its members. The military metaphysic justifies their fumbling control and their competition over the enlarged and centralized means of violence, production, and administration. For the professional warlords, this metaphysic is a natural assumption. It is in line with their training and in line with their professional interests and their personal careers.

V. For the politicians, the military metaphysic provides a cover under which they can abdicate the perils of innovative leadership; it provides a cover for their use of military bureaucrats—the only large pool of professional civil servants available—instead of building a civilian civil service of real integrity; it hides the political vacuum in which they now irresponsibly commit their political defaults.

VI. For the corporation executives, the military metaphysic often coincides with their interest in a stable and planned flow of profit; it enables them to have their risks underwritten by public money; it enables them reasonably to expect that they can exploit for private profit, now and later, the risky research developments paid for by public money. It is, in brief, a mask of the subsidized capitalism from which they extract profit and upon which their power is based.

VII. In the West, especially in the United States, there is fear of economic slump should the preparations for war cease or even be slackened off. Corporate interests are being served by the continu design and production of weapons whic are obsolete before their completion. B hind these economic motives and interes there is the world confrontation of th capitalist economy and the collectivist eco omy of the Communist bloc. Increasing these two political economies compete models for the industrialization of a wor that is largely preindustrial. The U.S. ca italist elite is losing this competition; wit good reason, it fears that it will contin to lose.

VIII. The monolithic assumptions of th military metaphysic and the thrust towa war which follows from it are due not alon to the military ascendancy or to the priva incorporation of the economy and its ca italist mechanics. These, I believe, a causes; but they are able to operate causes largely because of civilian hesitatio and political vacillation. Military and co porate elites have been able to come t gether and share higher decisions, as we as to make them separately, because of th fact of the political vacuum.

In the U.S.A. today, there are no n tionally responsible political parties offe ing and standing upon alternative politic orientations and programs. There is n significant senior civil service composed professional men whose careers are secu and independent of private interests. Th leading men of the U.S. government—th political directorate—are neither profe sional party politicians nor profession civil servants; they are former generals an former corporation men or the hangers-o of the higher business and legal circles. Th state in which we live, in its personnel an in its persistent outlook, does indeed a pear at times as a committee of these rulin circles of corporation and high military.

IX. Economic and military causes of wa are allowed to operate also because of th political apathy of publics and the mor insensibility of masses in both Communi and capitalist worlds, and by the politic inactivity and abdication of leading int lectual circles of these worlds. The rol of publics and of masses in U.S. develo ments are generally negligible and perm sive, although often uneasily so. But pu lics and masses are held by the feelin

t they and their elites as well are in the
p of fate. They do not know how to
se demands with effect; they are power-
s and they are morally insensible.

X. The same kind of role is being
yed by leading intellectual, scientific,
l religious circles. Most cultural work-
n are fighting a cold war in which they
o and elaborate the confusions of offi-
ls. They neither raise demands on the
es for alternative policies, nor set forth
h alternatives before publics and masses.
ny intellectuals do nothing to fill the
litical vacuum; indeed, as they fight the
d war, they proclaim, justify, and prac-
e the moral insensibility that is one of
accompaniments. Technologists and sci-
tists readily develop new weapons,
eachers and rabbis
d priests bless the
at endeavor; news-
n disseminate the
icial definitions of
rld reality, labeling
their publics the
ifting line-up of
ends and enemies;
blicists elaborate
"reasons" for the coming war, and the
ecessity" for the causes of it. They do
t politically oppose and politically debate
thrust toward war. They have generally
come the Swiss Guard of the power elite
Russian or American, as the case happens
be. Unofficial spokesmen of the military
taphysic, they have not lifted the level
moral sensibility; they have further de-
essed it. They have not tried to put re-
onsible content into the political vacuum;
ey have helped to empty it and to keep
empty. What must be called the Christian
fault of the clergy is part of this sorry
oral condition and so is the capture of
entists by nationalist Science Machines.
he journalistic lie, become a routine, is
rt of it too, and so is the pretentious triv-
ity of much that passes for social science.

XI. The thrust toward World War III
not a plot on the part of the elite, either
at of the U.S.A. or that of the U.S.S.R.
nong both, there are "war parties" and
eace parties," and among both there are
hat can be called crackpot realists. These
e men who are so rigidly focused on the
xt step that they become creatures of
whatever the main drift—the opportunist actions of innumerable men—brings. They are also men who cling rigidly to general principles. The frenzied next step plus the altogether general principle equal U.S. foreign policy—of which Mr. Dulles has been so fine an exemplar. In crackpot realism, a high-flying moral rhetoric is joined with an opportunist crawling among a great scatter of unfocused fears and demands. In fact, the main content of "politics" is now a struggle among men equally expert in practical next steps—which, in summary, make up the thrust toward war—and in great, round, hortatory principles. But without any program.

XII. Programs require that next steps be reasonably linked with principled images of a goal. To act toward goals requires that the next step be consciously worked out in terms of its consequences and that these consequences be weighed and valued in terms of the goal. Lacking a program, the opportunist moves short distances among immediate and shifting goals. He reacts rather than inaugurates, and the directions of his reactions are set less by any goals of his own than by the circumstances to which he feels forced to react out of fear and uneasiness. Since he is largely a creature of these circumstances, rather than a master of independent action, the results of his expedient maneuvers and of his defaults are more products of the main drift than of his own vision and will. To be merely expedient is to be in the grip of historical fate or in the grip of those who are not merely expedient. Sunk in the details of immediate and seemingly inevitable decisions to which he feels compelled to react, the crackpot realist does not know what he will do next; he is waiting for another to make a move.

XIII. The expectation of war solves many problems of the crackpot realists; it also confronts them with many new problems. Yet these, the problems of war, often seem easier to handle. They are out in the open: to produce more, to plan how to kill more of the enemy, to move materials

thousands of miles. The terms of the arms race, once the race is accepted as necessary, seem clear; the explicit problems it poses often seem "beyond politics," in the area of administration and technology. War and the planning of war tend to turn anxiety into worry; perhaps, as many seem to feel, genuine peace would turn worry into anxiety. War-making seems a hard technological and administrative matter; peace is a controversial and ambiguous political word. So instead of the unknown fear, the anxiety without end, some men of the higher circles prefer the simplification of known catastrophe.

The official expectation of war also enables men to solve the problems of the economic cycle without resort to political policies that are distasteful to many politicians and to large segments of the American public. The terms of their long-term solution, under conditions of peace, are hard for the capitalist elite to face.

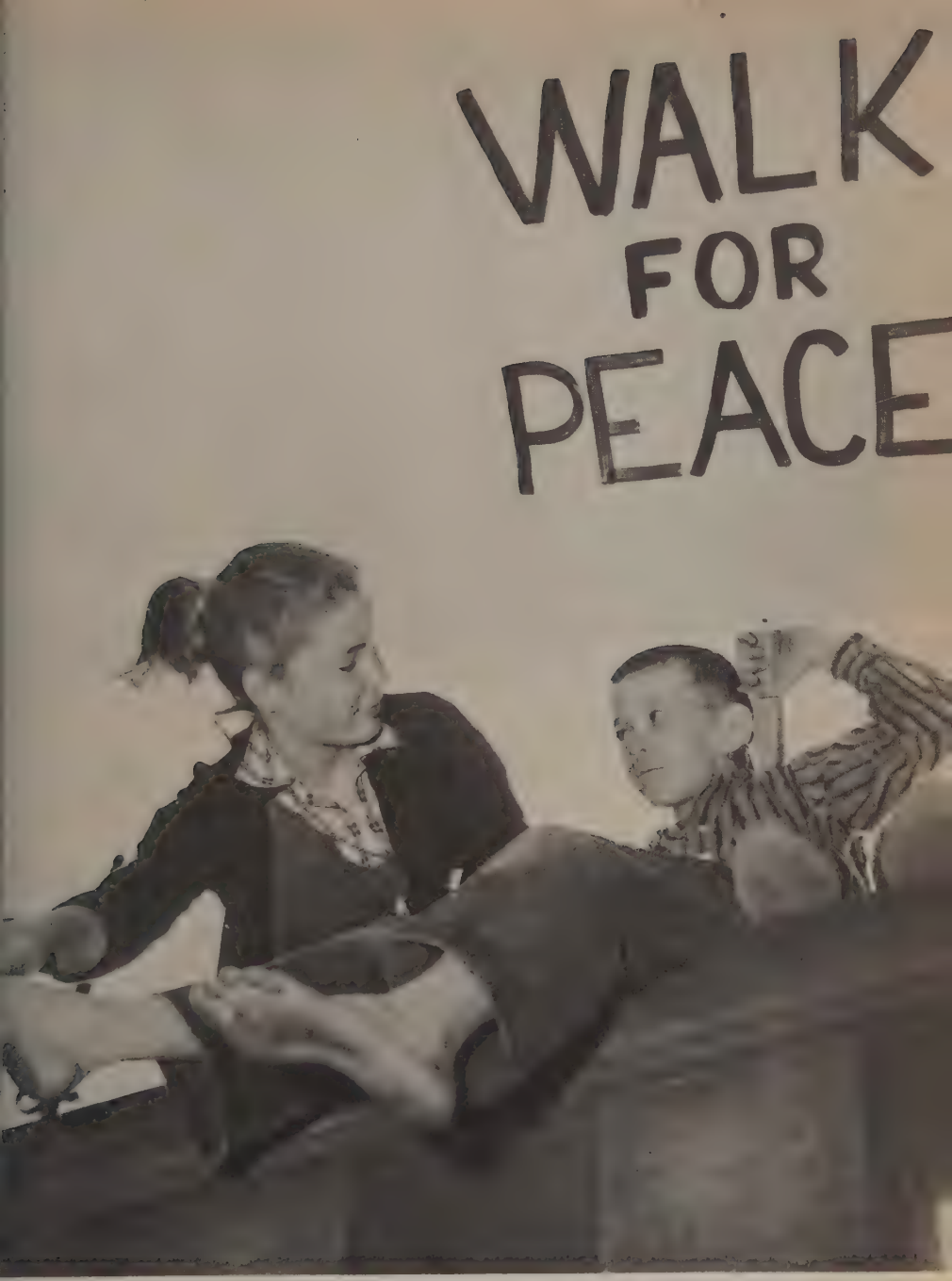
Some of them, accordingly, have come to believe that the world encounter has reached a point where there is no other solution but war, even when they sense that war can be a solution to nothing. They have come to believe this because those in control in each of the countries concerned are trapped by the consequences of their past actions and their present hostile outlook. They live in a world filled with events that overwhelm them. They know of no solutions to the paradoxes of the Middle East and Europe, the Far East and Africa except the landing of Marines. Being baffled, they have come to believe that there is no way out—except war—which would remove all the bewildering paradoxes of their tedious and now misguided attempts to construct peace. In place of these paradoxes they prefer the bright, clear problems of war—as they used to be. For they still believe that "winning" means something, although they never tell us what.

It is because of such bewilderment and frustration, based on the position and the interests of the power elite, that I assume that there have been and are in the U.S.A. and in the U.S.S.R. "war parties," men who want war; and also "peace parties," men who do not want war. Some men want war for sordid, others for idealistic, reasons; some for personal gain, others for impersonal principle. But most of those who consciously want war and accept it, and so help to create its "inevitability," want it in order to shift the locus of their problems.

Moreover, there is a point about war parties that does not hold so firmly for peace parties. The success of the war party in one nation interacts with the success of the war party in the other. When such cliques win in Russia, their counterparts are strengthened in the United States, and vice versa. Thus, when in some debate among decision-makers a war party wins out, it is able to consolidate its gains because its victories accumulate, as does the mutual fright it feeds upon and increases.

XIV. For those who would quietly attain modest goals in a short while, and who are acting within a main drift that is generally beneficent, crackpot realism is quite fitting. They need neither enduring means nor orienting programs of scope. But for those who are in the main drift toward World War III and who would stop that drift and attain a world condition of peace, opportunism is merely a series of cumulative defaults. Short-run pursuits are leading to long-run consequences that are not under the control of any program. The absence of an American program for peace is a major cause of the thrust and drift toward World War III.

In the meantime, and in the absence of such a program, elites of political, military and economic power are at the focal points of the economic, political, and military causes of war. By their decisions and their indecisions, by their defaults and their ignorance, they control the thrust of these causes. They are allowed to occupy such positions, and to use them in accordance with crackpot realism, because of the powerlessness, the apathy, the insensibility of publics and masses; they are able to do so in part, because of the inactionary posture of intellectuals, scientists, and other cultural workmen. In both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and in the frightened zones that lie between them, there is a political vacuum and an intellectual vacuum. In both, the thrust toward World War III is accelerated by elite behavior in the name of the sovereign state and in accordance with the military metaphysic.



arry and Joe Horton, children of FOR member Robert Horton, symbolize a year of monstrations and other action for peace. Kids marched to United Nations (see p. 12) on ril 4, 1958, from Philadelphia. Charry later spent a month at FOR Nyack headquarters a volunteer. Photo: Wide World.

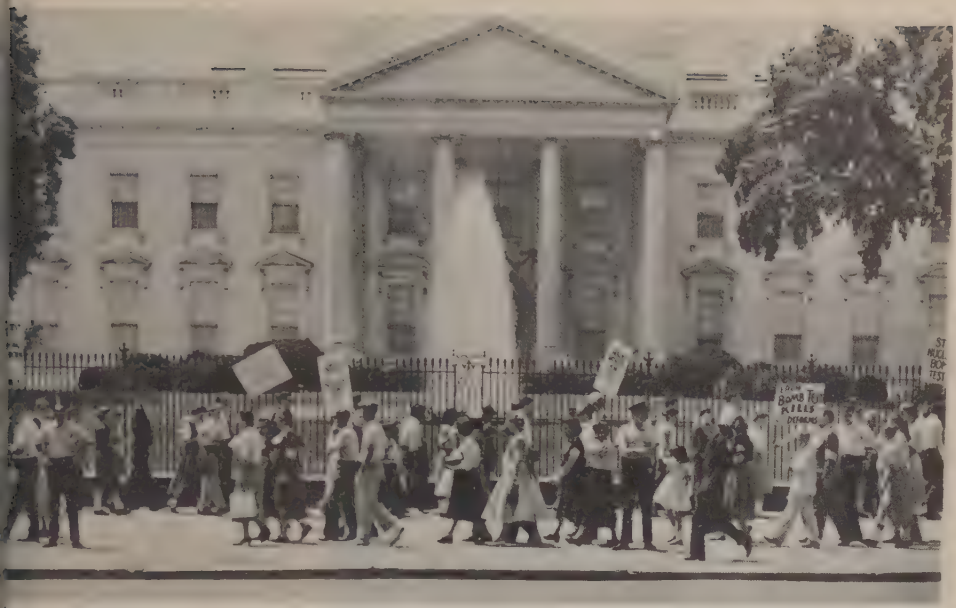
Thirty-foot ketch **Golden Rule** (above) sailed from San Pedro, California, on March 25, fo
Hawaii, en route to U.S. nuclear test zone in South Pacific to protest continuation of weapo
experiments there. Crew was jailed on May 1 for trying to sail from Hawaii. After the
release, Skipper Albert Bigelow was arrested on June 4 in Honolulu for trying to leave po
again. Below, judge sentences Bigelow to sixty days in jail. Bottom photo: United Pre
International.

her crew members sailed **Golden Rule** into the open sea as Bigelow was sentenced, but ast Guard overtook them. Above, the whole crew in Honolulu jail (l. to r.): George lloughby, James Peck (who replaced Bigelow on final attempt), William Huntington, gelow, Orion Sherwood. Below, sympathizers carry on protest in front of U.S. courthouse Honolulu on June 8. On July 1, Earle Reynolds (not shown) was arrested when he sailed o nuclear test zone. Photos: Honolulu Star-Bulletin by Warren Roll; Wide World.

Among many local peace demonstrations was this one in Detroit in July (above). Buildin- at right is Central Methodist Church, whose pastor is FOR member Henry Hitt Crane. Below Philadelphians start 90-mile walk to United Nations headquarters in New York. Yale Divinit School's John Oliver Nelson, an FOR Vice-Chairman, was among those who walked fro New Haven, and Tufts Prof. E. R. Stabler walked in from Hempstead, L. I. A total of 70 converged at the UN on April 4. Photos: Detroit Free Press; Wide World.

At ICBM base, near Cheyenne, Wyoming, FOR member Kenneth Calkins (above, with wife, Ellanor, at gate) was injured by a truck while attempting to obstruct entry of vehicles into base on August 19. This climaxed a project that began in June with a public opinion poll and an appeal to the people of Cheyenne to "consider the irrevocable step" toward mass destruction which the base represents. After being ejected from the base when they entered with leaflets, demonstrators sat in the road to block ingoing trucks. They were arrested when Calkins was hit. Within two weeks, five pacifists were jailed. Others, who continued the protest through mid-September, stood firm in the face of local hostility like that shown at left by an angry housewife who poured a bottle of soda pop down the blouse of unresisting Erika Enzer. At Cape Canaveral, Florida, the FOR conducted a 2-week vigil against missiles. Photos: United Press International; Wide World.

WE ARE WALKING
FROM WILMINGTON DEL
TO THE WHITE HOUSE



On June 1, the walks to Washington culminated in a poster walk at the White House (above). Among the demonstrators were a trio of tots in an express wagon, pulled by 12-year-old Raymond Dellinger of Glen Gardner, N. J. Oldest of the three was Jese Fichter, 4, who carried a sign saying "Our Milk Has Poison." A total of 650 Peace Walkers conducted orderly protest for an hour and a half here. Typical posters carried such slogans as "Each bomb test kills," "Peace in the world or a world in pieces" and "Every test kills some living, some unborn." President Eisenhower was at his Gettysburg farm during the picketing.

President Eisenhower was at his Gettysburg farm during the picketing.

Photo: Wide World.

ne of the big events leading up the Vigil at Canaveral was a eek-long walk to the White ouse in June from Wilmington, laware, and Winchester, Virhia. At left, 300 of the marchs are lining up outside the urch of the Brethren at Riverle, Maryland, en route to the pital. More than twice that mber arrived in Washington.

Co-ordinator of the walkers om Wilmington was FOR Youth cretary Curtiss Moody (photo at ght), in striped shirt, shown beg interviewed by a radio newsan. Moody reported that angers often stopped to give e regular walkers encouragent, or to talk with them for a hile. One man drove after the oup on two successive mornngs to bring them fresh milk, and motorist stopped and gave each alker a candy bar.

Among the walkers who went rt way along the route were med folksinger Pete Seeger and R bookkeeper Susan Whealdon. Photos, left and lower right, f Skoogfors.

In Germany, thousand massed in rallies like the or shown at left in a nationwid "Fight Against Atom Death." Here a crowd gat ers on the Rathausmarkt, city hall plaza, in Hambur to hear speeches by Socialis mayor Max Brauer and ot ers on April 4. Confession wing of German Evangelic Church, led by FOR membe Martin Niemöller, and Soci Democratic Party conducte vigorous protests against n clear arms for German and leading scientists, inclu ing Nobel prizewinner O Hahn, refused to work o atomic weapons.

Photo: Conti-Press b Heinz Fremke. More WA FOR PEACE photos on pag 21.

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship,** published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

"Atomic weapons? No!" says poster (photo at right) behind Social Democratic Bundestag member Dr. Gustav Heinemann as he addresses Frankfurt rally of 4,000 on April 19 on the theme, "Atomic armament is a deadly experiment."

Photo: Deutsche Presse-Agentur Gmbh.

Fellowship

JAN. 1, 1959
VOL. 25, NO.1

PACIFIST MINISTER SENTENCED: FOR DENOUNCED

A Cincinnati minister who for ten years has refused on conscientious ounds to pay his income tax, was sentenced on December 12 to six months im- sonment and $250 fine.

The Rev. Maurice McCrackin, an FOR member, is minister of the Pres- erian--Episcopal West Cincinnati--St. Barnabas Church and director of the dlay Street Neighborhood House. When he was arrested for non-payment of es he refused cooperation with the court, had to be carried to hearings, and od silent in the face of questioning. these tactics he was jailed for con- pt of court for an indeterminate tence, with the warning that he uld not be released until he "purged" nself of contempt by testifying.

Following an FOR-initiated protest the White House, signed by Norman omas, Princeton Theological School sident John Mackay, and twelve er clergymen, trial date of December was set, thus ending the contempt tence.

At sentencing Federal Judge John Druffel told McCrackin: "You have nitted giving your donations to the llowship of Reconciliation and the acemakers instead of paying taxes. ose groups are notorious and have erwhelming Soviet sympathies. We n't go into whether you are a card- rying Communist or not."

A widely publicized "open letter" puting the attack on the FOR was t to Judge Druffel on December Its 15 signers included former Cin- nnati mayor Charles P. Taft; former sistant Secretary of State Francis Sayre; Dean John Bennett and Vice- sident Reinhold Niebuhr of Union inary; Brigadier General Hugh B. ster, U.S. Army (ret.); and *Christian ntury* editor Harold E. Fey.

The letter said in part:

"Although not all of us are members have real respect for the Fellow- ip of Reconciliation and deplore orts to misrepresent it or identify it as subversive....(The Fellowship's) long and consistent record of opposition to totalitarianism and violence testify that its basic principles are in direct contradiction to the tenets of Soviet Communism."

Although Mr. McCrackin has refused to pay income taxes for the past ten years, no action was taken against him until after an attack on him by an official body of the state government of Georgia for his participation in interracial activities. The Cincinnati minister was one of the targets of a brochure pub-

(Continued on next page)

Judge Druffel on FOR

"What makes these people think (the Fellowship of Reconciliation) is so reputable? Where do they get the idea that (FOR members) are so reputable? Recently The Enquirer ran a letter from John M. Swomley Jr., national secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, in which he admitted that A. J. Muste, one of the founders of the group, was a converted Trotskyite.

"I understand that the Fellowship was also in the forefront in 1932 of the fight to recognize the Soviet Union, and look at what that got us.

"There was no use in sentencing the Rev. Mr. McCrackin without putting a tag on him."

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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Pacifist Minister *(cont'd)*

lished by the Georgia state government attacking the Highlander Folk School, in Tennessee, as "Communist." Many prominent persons, including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Reinhold Niebuhr, came to the school's defense, but a number of super-patriotic and anti-integration groups in Cincinnati used the attack to launch a continuing assault against McCrackin.

The minister's court-appointed attorneys, who entered a vigorous protest to Judge Druffel's remarks, announced their intention to appeal, though McCrackin himself disavows any plan to do so.

FOR Attacked in South, Too

It seems to be open season on the FOR these days. In Colorado the organization was flayed and defended in connection with the campaign of FOR National Council member Byron Johnson for Congress. (He won.) In Cincinnati it has been attacked and supported in connection with the trial of the Rev. Maurice McCrackin growing out of his refusal to pay income taxes. (He lost.)

Hard on the heels of Cincinnati, the commissioner of police in Birmingham, Alabama, Eugene ("Bull") Connors, released a full-scale attack on the FOR, Glenn Smiley, and the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a leader of the Negro anti-segregation forces in that city.

Birmingham detectives a week before had arrested Smiley without a warrant, and removed from his possession illegally some private letters and memoranda. Quoting from one of these, Mr. Connors in a front-page story in the Birmingham News of December 21, sought to arouse suspicion in Negro groups, labeled the anti-segregation movement as "Northern-directed," and identified the FOR as a "Communist" front."

Birmingham Negro leaders within the week had expressed their support of and confidence in Smiley. In a letter to the mayor of Birmingham signed by FOR National Chairman Charles Lawrence and Co-Secretary Alfred Hassler, the FOR disclaimed any intention to press its legitimate claims in court, asserting that it "does not ordinarily conceive of its role as taking criminal action against those who have wronged it." It warned, however, of the consequences of "such contemptuous disregard of basic American concepts of justice," and asserted its intention to "continue to make its services available wherever, in the North or South, they are requested by those who seek a better society through the use of nonviolent and reconciling methods."

"Don Murray In...."

The motion-picture film "Alternatives," produced by the FOR and religious groups and starring actor Don Murray as narrator, has been completed. Thanks to cost revision, lower sale and rental prices have been set as follows:

Sale, per print.....$125.
Rental, per showing.....7.50
Rental, per week..... 20.00

The film is a 24-minute, 16 mm sound film in full color. It may be purchased or rented from the FOR national office, or rented through FOR regional secretaries.

Cards Set New Record

Sales of FOR Christmas cards set a new record again in 1958 with a total of 416,000 cards and 87,000 sheets of greeting paper.

NEWS from the peace front

Hundreds of British pacifists have en involved in direct-action projects ainst the construction of American ssile bases in their country during the st few weeks. Though remaining non-olent, the pacifists have dramatized eir protest by attempting to obstruct nstruction in various ways. Some ve prostrated themselves in the road prevent trucks from entering the se, and one demonstrator got into a ment mixer to prevent its operation.

The protests had wide publicity in rope, and were reported in the press d on television in this country. Po-e who removed the demonstrators e reported to have behaved nonvio-ntly themselves, although 22 demon-rators wound up in jail after a demon-ration a week before Christmas.

* * *

Several hundred dollars' worth of OR literature and equipment, and me of the skin of the Middle Atlantic egional Secretary and his wife, were rned in a fire that destroyed the om used as an FOR office in the me of Charles Walker, at Cheyney, a., early last month. No one was riously injured, but both Charles and arion Walker suffered burned hands their efforts to extinguish the fire.

* * *

The arrest of yachtsman Earle ynolds, when he and his family and ew penetrated the forbidden nuclear st area in the Pacific last summer, cupied a major part of the November sue of *The Crow's Nest*, monthly wsletter of the American Yachtsmen's sociation. The newsletter, which ve a paragraph to the story, had ached to it a special supplement titled "The Phoenix Story," in ich the entire project, including the yage of the Golden Rule, was re-unted. The newsletter called on its aders to aid the Reynolds' in their urt case on the issue of "freedom of seas," and encouraged them to send financial contributions to Mrs. Earle Reynolds, Box 5199, Honolulu, Hawaii.

* * *

From time to time, word comes in of bits of *Fellowship* that appear in unexpected places around the world. Latest is from Izmir, Turkey, where FOR member Harriet Yarrow speculated about providing "a sort of religious news service of a positive nature" for the local press. Experimentally, she translated a short paragraph from a *Fellowship* story and sent it to the *Demokrat Ismir*, along with a copy of the issue in question. The result was that the *Demokrat* translated and used the entire article. Sample paragraph of the *Fellowship* story in Turkish is shown below. Other readers abroad please copy!

> Geçenlerde Honolulu hapishanesinden beş denizci tahliye edildi. Bunlar, Pasifikte yapılan bir atom tecrübesinden sonra, tecrübeleri fiilen protesto etmek maksadiyle, yasak bölge ilân edilen sulara giren Golden Rule gemisi mürettebatından idiler. Hapisten çıkan gençlerin ilk işi, japonyayı dize getiren ilk atom bombasının atılışının 13. yıldönümünü anmak üzere Hiro şima Belediye Reisine bir mektup göndermek oldu.

* * *

With IFOR secretary André Trocmé as its president, a federation of non-Communist groups opposed to nuclear armaments and the continuation of nuclear testing came into existence in Paris December 12.

The new federation was formed at a meeting attended by representatives of Protestant, Roman Catholic and humanist groups, as well as those from established peace organizations. Both the FOR and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom were

(Continued on next page)

represented, along with *L'Esprit*, a Catholic newspaper; the League for the Rights of Man; Citizens of the World; the Catholic *Vie Nouvelle*; and a group of 150 university professors against war.

The group called itself the "Federation Against Atomic Armaments (formation)." It employed a part-tir secretary and authorized five repr sentatives to attend the internation anti-nuclear rally which will be he in London January 17.

Scientific Power -- for War or Peace

Scientists are, because of their special knowledge, well equipped for early awareness of the dangers and the promise arising from scientific discoveries. Hence, they have a special competence and a special responsibility in relation to the most pressing problems of our times.

The increasing material support which science now enjoys in many countries is mainly due to its importance, direct or indirect, to the military strength of the nation and to its degree of success in the arms race. This diverts science from its true purpose, which is to increase human knowledge and to promote man's mastery over the forces of nature for the benefit of all.

--Third Pugwash Nuclear Conference, Kitzbuhel, Austria, Sept. 21, 1958

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

REGIONAL SECRETARIES

MIDDLE ATLANTIC
Charles C. Walker
Cheyney, Penna.

NEW ENGLAND
Robert Gussner
10 Kirkland Road
Cambridge 38, Mass.

SOUTH
James M. Lawson
1407 South St.
Nashville, Tenn.

MIDWEST
Dorothy Calkins
1217 Judson Ave.
Evanston, Ill.

REPRESENTATIVES OF DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATES

BAPTIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. William M. Hammond Jr.
483 West State Street
Trenton, New Jersey

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Joseph Howell
110 East 29 St., New York City

DISCIPLES PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Barton Hunter
222 So. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

EPISCOPAL PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Joseph Rohrer
183 Cedar Avenue
Hackensack, New Jersey

EVANGELICAL & REFORMED PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Richard Denzler
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Glenside, Penna.

LIBERAL RELIGIOUS PEACE FELLOWSHIP
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Unitarian Church
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LUTHERAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
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Cheyenne, Wyoming

FELLOWSHIP OF METHODIST PACIFISTS
H. D. Bollinger
245 Lauderdale Road
Nashville 5, Tenn.

NEW CHURCH PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
George F. Bischof
126 Broadway
Rockville Centre, N. Y.

PEACE FELLOWSHIP OF PRESBYTERIANS
Mrs. B. W. Hamilton
52 East 66 Street
New York City

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
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No. Highlands Presbyterian Church
Bessemer, Alabama

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Harry Emerson Fosdick
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John Haynes Holmes
E. Stanley Jones
Kenneth Scott Latourette
William Appleton Lawrence
Mary Ely Lyman
Clarence Pickett
Carl Rasmussen
Paul Scherer
Arthur L. Swift Jr.
Howard Thurman
Dan West

Japan, mass peace walks were
ong many actions for peace. Above,
ddhist priest Atsushi Nishimoto, hold-
poster, is welcomed by people of
ayama, in second week of a month-
g walk from Hiroshima to Tokyo,
ding August 12. Below, marchers
ss through Osaka. Photos: Japanese
uncil Against A- & H-Bombs.

Above, 5,800 demonstrato
brave the rain to jam Traf
gar Square, London,
Campaign for Nuclear D
armament rally in Apr
From there, 3,300 set out
a 50-mile hike to t
Atomic Weapons Resear
Establishment at Alderma
ton. During July-Septembe
fifty demonstrators staged
nine-week picket at the n
clear weapons center, and
October a direct action grou
of 16 men and women e
dured rain and cold in
6-day round-the-clock vig
outside the entrance to t
plant. Among the vigile
was former Methodist Chur
president Donald Soper,
noted FOR member. At le
rain-drenched vigil membe
at Aldermaston pause for te
Photos: Austin Underwood.

A Crusader In Africa

AN ARTICLE-REVIEW

BY ALAN PATON

IME TO SPEAK by Michael Scott. Double- 1958. 358 pp., $4.50.

ICHAEL SCOTT'S BOOK, *A Time to Speak*, is a kind of autobiography, even ugh it is not, and was not intended to primarily about himself. Therefore one ntitled to ask, what kind of man was Should one say, "was he," or "is he"? hink that a South African could say, s he," for he is not likely to walk the of South West Africa and South Africa, toland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, Rhodesias and Nyasaland, for some long to come. And it is doubtful too if he ld be allowed in Mozambique and An-, or in Kenya and Tanganyika, or in Belgian Congo.

What kind of man was he? Was he an rrigible meddler, partial to interfering thers' affairs? Was he worse than that, agitator, preferring discord and agita- to peace, sowing bitter thoughts in ple minds? When he went to prison in 6 as the result of a protest against the egation measure known as the Asiatic d Tenure Act, was this, to use his own ds, the "futile gesture of a rather eccen- clergyman" or "no less possibly a piece self-righteousness and exhibitionism"?

t says something very important about man that he could ask such a question ut himself. He was not only humble, had some deep knowledge of the com- catedness of human nature. He says that s not impossible that he was inclined elf-righteousness and exhibitionism; but moral and spiritual greatness lay in the that in spite of these possible weak- ses, he was willing to be used as an in- ment of a righteous purpose.

He was as diffident as Moses, full of self-doubting. When he left St. Paul's College, Grahamstown, the warden said to him, "You have never been able to make up your mind, dear man, and I don't think you ever will." Scott goes on to say of the warden, "He had a friendly and sincere way of making the most acid comments and rebuffs. . . . No one ever resented them because it seemed as though he liked us all the better for our faults and weaknesses."

What kind of man would repeat a thing like that? Certainly not one who was self-righteous in any untoward degree. I hope that some of those who hated and condemned Scott will read his book, for what emerges from his story is the picture of a brave, diffident, and humble man, with only one thing abnormal about him (if it is abnormal), namely, a hunger and a thirst for righteousness.

I am sure that Michael Scott would prefer that we now begin to consider his book, but it is he who forces us to wrestle with the inescapable Christian problems of how to have peace and the sword together, of how to be meek and bold together, of how to surrender and be free together; and what is more, how to do these things in South Africa.

Michael Scott does no more than state these problems. In any event, they are solved, if they are to be solved, not in argument or in books, but in life and action, in short in a person. And whether Michael Scott likes it or not, one must record that in this particular person, these particular problems are solved in a particular way.

Indeed it has to be so, for our Lord promised that he who hungered and thirsted after righteousness, would be filled.

The Tragic Country

Now what about the other story, of the tragic country with which Michael Scott's name is indivisibly associated, just as were the names of Rhodes, Kruger, Milner, Olive Schreiner, Botha, Smuts, Hertzog, Hofmeyr, Malan, Gandhi, Dadoo, Luthuli, Khama, Moshesh, Huddleston, Strijdom, Bishop Reeves, and now Verwoerd: South Africa, endowed by God and History with a wealth of problems unfortunately not exportable but not unknown in the United States, Algeria, Kenya, Rhodesia, Israel, Cyprus, even in Britain now. These are the problems which arise when more races than one occupy the same country. Some say they are cultural problems, some that they are class or economic problems, some that they are out-and-out racial problems, made still more vexatious by the complication of color difference. I incline to the latter view, while not denying the others. Groups, because they are different, feel themselves menaced by others; and where a group has power, as the white group has in South Africa, it entrenches its position by discriminatory laws, sometimes boldly asserting its determination to dominate, sometimes, in deference to internal conscience or to external disapproval, asserting that only by racial separation can one achieve justice and harmony.

It was this situation that confronted Michael Scott when he came to South Africa for the second time. He first, in the Campaign for Right and Justice, concerned himself with the search for an overall solution, but later, after some disillusionment, turned himself to the task of fighting specific injustices.

So he joined the Passive Resistance Movement to resist the segregation of Indians in Natal, and went to prison for his resistance, where he experienced doubts about eccentricity and exhibitionism. He declined to pay taxes on the grounds that the laws were unjust. He went to live in Tobruk shantytown, the only white person in an African township, thus challenging the entire body of white custom. He next investigated the ill-treatment, resulting sometimes in death, of African laborers in the notorious farming district of Bethal; this was the most courageous action of his courageous life. Then after Basutoland and its rit murders, Bechunaland and its Sere Khama and other affairs, he espoused cause of the Hereros, who after their bru treatment by the Germans, found that mandatory power, South Africa, was lit disposed to consider their claims to lands of which they had been dispossess This was the cause that he took to United Nations, but when he went to N York to do it, he was confined to a sm area of that great city.

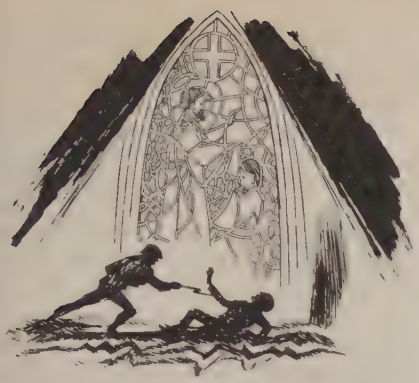
Are these things true that he wri about? Does he give a true picture of th events and situations? Or is he simp meddling in other people's affairs, a causing disturbance where none was? book surely gives the answer to these qu tions. He was moved by a hunger for rig eousness, to right injustices—in the wo of the great prophet, to seek judgment, lieve the oppressed, judge the fatherl plead for the widow. Those who see h as an instrument of evil and discord surely blind, seeing not him but only th possessions, their status, which they believ he threatened. *Apartheid* is the bulwa the shield, the wall, against all who threat these possessions. The new doctrine of s arate development has, for all its protes tions, the same purpose. *Apartheid*, and separate development, has become the preme good; the old universals, justi love, truth, mercy, have become subsi aries, good only in so far as they minis to the supreme good. How could a m like Michael Scoot fail to arouse the tagonism of those who believed *apartha* to be the supreme good?

So the Church of Christ is in danger becoming, not the upholder of revoluti ary truth, but the protector of stability. comes to life the tormenting problem reconciling peace with reformation, or with justice, stability with change. Micha Scott ranged himself on the side of refor tion, justice, and change, and made name a byword in white South Africa.

The Hard Road of Courage

I said I would write about the count not about the man. But that has prov impossible. How far Scott ever solved t problem of reconciliation with those wh

(Continued on Page 32)



PACIFISM *and* *Christian Responsibility*

BY CULBERT G. RUTENBER

ACK IN THE 17TH CENTURY, during the conflict between Cromwell and King rles I, Thomas Fuller prayed, "God put nd unto these woeful days before they an end to us." No doubt it seemed like od prayer at the time. But it wasn't as apt then as it is now. The possibility he days putting an end to us all in very alness is precisely the shadow under ch we all live.

ne would think that under such conns the rush to pacifism would become ampede. But it is not so. And some of reasons for this lie, certainly, in the ory of pacifism itself. In their eagerness peace, pacifists have consistently undernated the difficulties and overrated the spects of success. During World War I ade Royden was certain that if, in the week of August 1914, the British people risen up and disarmed the nation, the ser's armies would not have marched in ope. George Lansbury hastened to as the International Fellowship of Reconation, meeting those fateful days of 9, that he had just come from an inter with Hitler and felt sure there was e, for he had found Hitler not to be a bad fellow after all. And it was in spirit of a confident pacifism that an nymous onlooker wrote on the occasion he signing of the Kellogg-Briand Peace aty in 1928: "The deed cannot be bted. I saw it done. I heard the words ken. I looked into the grave faces of the n who were impowered to sign. . . . I d again the unambiguous words of reciation. I looked at the signatures and ls. I cannot do otherwise than to comnd my pen to write these words: Today ernational war was banished from civilization." (*Peace in their Time,* Robert H. Farrell, p. 219n)

Such naiveté is not to be recommended for the halls of government and statecraft where grave decisions must be made. Indeed, such wishful thinking is positively dangerous when the consequence of wrong guessing is communist tyranny. So feels the average non-pacifist. And not without justification. The only trouble is, it is also positively dangerous to play with the matches of nuclear fusion when one miscalculation can ignite the globe. "If," says Gabriel Marcel, "the unimaginable evils which a new world war would bring upon us *were* genuinely imagined, to any extent at all, that new world war would become impossible." (*Mystery of Being,* I, p. 36) It is *this* truth which the Christian nonpacifist has to live with. It is this truth which calls in question the whole rationale which undergirds our military posture.

Pacifism and the Church

So let us begin again with another look at pacifism, *Christian* pacifism. The phrase needs clarification, since neither "Christian" nor "pacifism" is without its ambiguity. The word "pacifism" has been stretched at times to include everything from not spanking your children to vegetarianism. Since a common attitude towards war unites all pacifists, the word "pacifism" will be used as equivalent to conscientious objection to war. Christian pacifism is that form of pacifism which takes its motivation and its rationale from the gospel. The form herein defended will be a *Church-centered* rather than a politics-centered pacifism. The primary orientation will be the Church and its witness rather than the state and its

preservation. It is possible that no state in the modern world can be pacifist.[1] But the Church can—and must. It is the Church, and not the state, that is the bearer of the meaning of history. The state is a provisional organization; the Church is eternal.

I am not trying to suggest an absolute dichotomy between Church and state, nor am I proposing a Christ-against-culture approach, with the consequent withdrawal of Christians from the world. Christians must take an active part in the social and political power struggles of the day. This is basic Christian truth, especially when the Christian finds himself a member of a democratic state. But this commitment to political activity is not an absolute. We are not responsible to society. We are responsible to God *on behalf of* society, and sometimes that responsibility can best express itself through sitting on our hands.

What is involved here is the dialectic of Incarnation and Crucifixion as illustrated in the life of our Lord. The Incarnation is God's "Yes" to the world, his identification with its struggles and conflicts. But there is not only an Incarnation. There is a Crucifixion. And if Incarnation is God's "Yes" to the world, Crucifixion is God's "No" to the world. Yet there is no contradiction here. The "Yes" and the "No" are all of a piece, ultimately. God must pronounce his unwavering "No" to the sinful world that now is, for the sake of the redeemed world that will be.

These two moments of the life of our Lord must always be kept in mind by the Church which is his now-body in history. Incarnation symbolizes world-affirmation. The Church of the Incarnation cannot stand aloof from the struggles of men. Its love must seek embodiment in every good work, in every area of life. But there are times when world-affirmation must give way to world-denial (Crucifixion), that the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ may be the more clearly seen.

[1] The possibility is not absolutely excluded, but it is interesting that even India makes no pretense of being a pacifist state. Some people even think that a pacifist state is a contradiction in terms, since power at the service of order is inherent in the nature of the state. To this the reply may be made that submission to a foreign power without a struggle is not the abandonment of order, but the substitution of another form of order for the original. However, it is not necessary to argue this point, since the focus of interest in this essay is not on the state but on the Church.

Where to Draw the Line

Both pacifist and non-pacifist are in th
retical agreement that the Christian c
not give himself to the power struggle
society at all times, by every conceiva
method, on every desired occasion. A li
has to be drawn, for obedience's sake. Th
difference is that the pacifist draws the li
sooner than the nonpacifist. This sou
like a mere matter of degree, but one m
not minimize the momentousness of su
a matter. Aristotle long ago built a wh
system of right and wrong around just su
"mere" differences of degree: virtue is
mean of which vice is either too much
too little. Differences in degree can and
become differences in kind.

The grounds on which the pacifist dra
his line must now be surveyed. Classical
pacifism has appealed to the sacredness
human life and has taken its stand on t
refusal to kill a man. Such a position is m
without parallel in the thinking of the p
Constantine Church. Indeed, it is precis
this ban on killing to which Origen appe
in his answer to Celsus on why Christia
do not fight. And Cyprian, bishop of Car
age, wrote: "Christians are not allowed
kill." Nevertheless, I think it is impossi
to make an absolute, doctrinaire statem
to the effect that a Christian is never p
mitted to kill a man. It seems clear to
that if a madman were about to blow up
speeding airliner with fifty people on boa
it would be better to kill the madman th
to let him take the lives of fifty othe
Here, if you please, is a problem of t
lesser of two evils. But such a concessi
should never make us forget that it *is*
serious thing to take a man's life for wh
Christ gave his. And such a concessi
should never be stretched to excuse p
ticipation in modern war. When slaught
takes place on a mass scale, without any d
ferentiation between guilty and innoce
without any possibility of confining its
to moral limits, then the cost of Christi
participation is far too great to pay. A
the Church which acquiesces in this ki
of indiscriminate violence comprises its
sential nature as the embodiment (sinf
but none the less real) of the love and tru
of God, immanent in culture but also tra
cendent—part of the life of nations, yet
sentially transnational and universal.

Broken Barriers of Morality

When one surveys the history of the last ral years, one wonders just where that is that the Christian nonpacifist is go- to draw, and in drawing say, "Thus far, no farther." When the pattern of ob- ration bombing arose in World War II oral barrier was breached. The distinc- between soldier and civilian was rred, and defenseless women and chil- were roasted alive in the holocaust ted on the cities of Germany and Japan. for the nonpacifist Christian the time draw the line had not yet come. Then e Nagasaki and Hiroshima, with over ,000 civilians wiped out with one bomb ach city. But the time to draw the line not yet come. Instead a line was wn relative to future wars by the Dun mmittee, appointed by the Federal ncil of Churches to examine the Chris- conscience and war. The Dun Com- tee reported that atom bombs should be dropped by the United States first had already done so, without warning) should be used in retaliation "with re- int." The qualifying phrase "with re- int" was soon rendered meaningless by invention of H-bombs 1000 times more erful than the original bomb dropped Japan. But still the time had not come draw the line. Meanwhile we are enter- the era of the intercontinental ballistic sile, which steps up the danger one e notch. A nervous radar-watcher, mis- rpreting the meaning of a blip on his en, can cause the release of a missile ich once released cannot be recalled. bal devastation . . . global fear . . . etic damage by radioactivity . . . race ide . . . and still it is argued the time not come for the Christian Church to w the line. It is not clear just what is ng waited for!

Force and Love

t is important that we make very plain at we are *not* saying. We are *not* saying t because the Christian Church is the veyor of the love of God, Christians st renounce all use of force and use love ne. *Such an argument establishes a false ithesis between love and force.* The two not opposites. If I violently shove a ld out of the way of a speeding car I have expressed my love—through the use of force. And even when we abandon the area where the one against whom the force is used is also the beneficiary of it and move into the area of justice, where the force is applied against one (*e.g.*, a criminal) for the sake of another (*e.g.*, his victim), we have not abandoned the area of love. The use of force and coercion is the price that Christian love must pay for operating relevantly in a sinful world.

What we *are* saying is that not only must sin be taken seriously, but even more important Christ and the gospel must be taken seriously. Not only sin, but Christ, too, is part of our human story. And by His death and resurrection He has formed a new creation in history, the Church. This new creation is "a colony of heaven" (Philippians 3:20, Moffatt's trans.), which owes its allegiance to its heavenly homeland and which reflects in its own life and operations the truth and standards of that transcendent Kingdom of God of which it is both the pledge and the imperfect embodiment.

To take Christ and His Gospel seriously in this sense is to acknowledge that there are limits to a Christian's participation in the coercive structures of society. And there are limits to the accommodation which Christian love can make to the concern for "relevance," as the world understands that word. That limit is reached when force which can be controlled for limited ends gives way to uncontrollable, limitless violence. At this point, all talk of justice becomes irrelevant. The "justice" which modern warfare serves is like the justice served by setting fire to a theater and shooting down every patron who runs for the exits, in the certainty that among the victims will be Public Enemy Number One. Such methods are unthinkable. Some things are simply not permitted, however worthy the goal sought.

There are some highly relevant comments by Kierkegaard on this problem. In *Purity of Heart Is to Will One Thing* he writes:

> If a man sets himself a goal for his endeavor here in this life, and he fails to reach it, then, in the judgment of eternity, it is quite possible that he may be blameless. Yes, he may even be worthy of praise. He

might have been prevented by death, or by an adversity that is beyond his control: in which case he is entirely without blame. He might even have been prevented from reaching the goal just by being unwilling to use any other means than those which the judgment of eternity permits. In which case by his very renunciation of the impatience of passion and the inventions of cleverness, he is even worthy of praise.

If reaching the goal should be the excuse and defense for the use of illicit or questionable means—alas, suppose he should die tomorrow. Then the clever one would be caught in his own folly. . . .

To the temporal and earthly passion the end is unconditionally more important than the means. On that very account, it is the passionate one's torment, which if carried to its height must indeed make him sleepless and then insane, namely that he has no control over time, and that he continually arrives too late, even if it was by merely half an hour. . . .

He whose means are invariably just as important as the end, never comes too late. Eternity is not curious and impatient as to what the outcome in this world of time will be. . . . To earthly and worldly passion, this observation must seem shocking and paralyzing. To it conscience must seem the most paralyzing thing of all. For conscience is indeed "a blushing innocent spirit that sets up a tumult in a man's breast and fills him with difficulties" just because to conscience the means are without exception as important as the end.

Our conclusion thus far, then, is that *when force ceases to be used discriminately for limited ends and passes over into indiscriminate violence the Christian must abjure it for conscience' sake. Since modern war is of precisely this character, the Christian must renounce it.* I will not attempt to put this thesis to a kind of rough test by showing that the peculiar vocation of the Church is compromised when it does not adopt a pacifist position. The term "peculiar vocation" is used advisedly. There are many activities that Christians share with others—for example, the pursuit of social justice. On the other hand, there are some things that are the peculiar vocation of Christians, which only they can do—*e.g.*, winning men to Christ. My thesis is that the witness of the Church, at the point of its essential vocation, is gravely compromised by its involvement in the war system.

The Christian World Mission

Dr. Frank Woods, upon his enthron ment a few months ago as fifth Anglica Archbishop of Australia, remarked that the eyes of the restless millions of Indi the East and Africa, Christianity is not t bearer of good tidings of peace and goo will but synonymous with a civilizati which twice in the last fifty years has be rent by war "more devastating and terrib than any before in history." The countri of the East, he continued, think of Euro as a Christian continent where "unspea able atrocities, far outstripping in en mity and cruelty the fabulous atrocities ancient Rome or of modern savages, ha been committed."

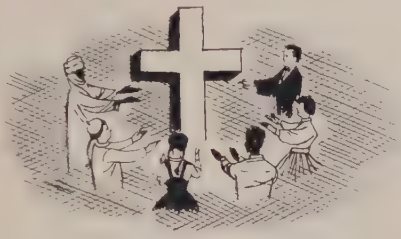
In the June 1957 issue of *Christus V tor,* Dr. Daisuke Kitagawa notes: In t race of winning the masses in Asia, "Chr tianity, which is so closely identified Asian minds with the colonial powers of t West, has a decided disadvantage *vis a* communism, for Christianity cannot he being regarded as defending the status qu while communism is regarded as standi for change." Speaking further of the fee ing of Asians that Christianity's concer with them is primarily to keep them fr becoming converts to communism, D Kitagawa continues: "Come to us co pletely unarmed, save by the Gospel Christ and in Christ find in us Asia Christians and non-Christians alike, ch dren of God for whom Christ has died well as for you."

At the heart of missions is evangelism What happens to evangelism when it practiced by a war-supporting Christianit A friend of mine with the United Stat Navy asked the Chinese driver of his ji riksha in Hong Kong what he thoug about the problem of peace. The Chine boy responded in broken English: "Sir, y Americans are a funny lot. You ask m 'what price does peace come?' and yet y prepare for war. You say you hold the wa to peace. This may be so. I have heard your Christ and *he* may be the way. B this I know" (and his eyes squinted a his fist doubled tight), "Christianity as know it is *not* the way." In short, a Chr tianity compromised by its association wi the war systems of power states cannot pr claim the Gospel.

Toward a Redemptive Church

ut the haunting question remains. at would happen if the Church decided break with war and the majority of istians became convinced pacifists? at would be the consequences? Well . . . it *would* be the consequences? And if reader is typical, what he means when raises this question in his own mind is, at would happen to America and the st *vis a vis* Communism? The question o interpreted is not my question. I do consider, as some do, that my first con- ration must be to say something or do ething that will the statesman in soul-crushing re- nsibilities. My first cern is not the state the Church and to e the question of sequences is first all to ask, What uld happen to the urch? And here it seems to me the wer is clear. A pacifist-minded Christian- in an ecumenical setting would really the Church, the worldwide fellowship of ievers, transcending all manmade boun- ies. No longer would Christian be set inst Christian as each is caught up in struggles of the nation-state. No longer uld German Christians be found killing the sake of fascism, nor Russian Chris- s for the sake of communism, nor Amer- Christians for the sake of democracy. istians would not be found killing at They would no longer be at the dis- al of the state as a pawn in interna- al politics. They would have a prior mitment, a commitment to the world- e brotherhood of believers, to the com- nity of the reconciled and reconciling, of redeemed and redeeming, of the peace- and the peacemaking. Such a Church uld be released to actualize the ministry he suffering servant, its essential voca- n. Its fate might be to become the mar- Church, becoming broken bread and red-out wine for the life of the world. it would be *the Church,* the veritable y of Christ, the purveyor and embodi- nt of the truth and love of God.

. H. Dodd has written that the part of ic ethics which deals with the individual Stoic's relation to the state is taken, in New Testament ethics, by injunctions on the individual Christian's relation to the Church. And this squares with our Lord's claim that the Kingdom of God had been taken away from the Old Israel and given to a New Nation, the Israel of God. It is to this New Nation, the People of God, that the primary loyalty of the Christian belongs, *not* to the nation-state.



But the matter is one of both-and and not either-or. And now that the priority of the claims of the Nation of God over all temporal structures has been suggested, we must return to the question, What would happen to my nation if Christians adopted the pacifist position? What would be the political consequences? And the only possible answer is, Who knows? On any calculus of probability it would seem that our government's military pressure would be ruined, Russia would win the Cold War, and communism would take over the world. It is a terrible fate to contemplate, yet if the exposition above is correct the risk must be taken. And a risk it is, not a certainty. History is rarely predictable and the lust to play God to historical processes and neatly predict the course of world affairs must not paralyze us into inaction on the one hand, nor precipitate us into unwise activity on the other. Our job is to be true, and leave the results to God. He is the Lord of history, not us. And His ways are not our ways, nor His thoughts our thoughts. Christian pacifism is a faith, part of the larger faith of the Church universal. Such faith must always appear a stumbling block and scandal to the rationalistic calculator of probabilities. Indeed it must sometimes appear a stumbling block to the Christian himself. But it is nonetheless the mystery by which we live, believing as we do not in events, not in circumstances but in God. And to believe in God is to believe that if we offer to Him our humble and loyal witness, then in ways beyond our knowing He will use that witness to His greater glory and to the forwarding of His inscrutable purposes.

BOOKS

A World of Hungry People

BRAVE NEW WORLD REVISITED by Aldous Huxley. Harper 1958. 147 pp., $3.

THE WORLD IS LEARNING COMPASSION by Frank Laubach. Fleming Revell 1958. 251 pp., $3.50.

Between them these two books, by authors very different in temperament and approach, furnish an invaluable wealth of material for the person concerned with the problems of peace.

Aldous Huxley's book came about when the editor of *Newsday,* a Long Island daily, asked him to take a new look at his *Brave New World,* first published in 1932. The result is not conducive to optimism. In the earlier fantasy-novel, Huxley had foreseen a world of complete conformity and regimentation by the sixth century "after Ford." In his new work he confesses to the gloomy fear that the society he foresaw is coming much more swiftly than that, and examines the forces that are bringing it into being.

The first of these, and to an extent shaping all the others, is the stupefying problem of a mushrooming population in a world already strained to supply adequate food and other resources. Total population took millions of years to reach one billion by 1835, a century to add a second billion, and only 35 years for the third. With medical advances constantly lowering the death rate while the birth rate remains constant, Huxley sees an impossible load of 5½ billion by the end of this century.

With the needs of these billions providing a near-irresistible drive to conformity and regimentation, Huxley examines the other forces pushing in the same direction (over-organization and technology) and the techniques by which human individuality is submerged (propaganda, brainwashing, chemical and subconscious persuasion, hypnopaedia).

Frank Laubach, famed missionary of literacy, is equally concerned about the growing pressure of population and the needs resulting from it. He is concerned, too, that most of us of the world's "upper fifth" still have little comprehension of what struggle is all about in the middle of t twentieth century. We suffer, he says, fr the illusion that communism is the gr est evil we confront. "It is *not* the b disease. The greatest illness on earth to is the hunger and distress which gave bi to communism!" And we suffer from twin illusion that "our hope lies in a ies and atom bombs and missiles." It d not, of course, but in the kind of Christ love that "helps them to help themselv

But Laubach is an optimist. Witho minimizing the conviction that the wo is "running a race between compassion a suicide," he acknowledges his belief t compassion is winning, that it "is well the way to becoming the creed and pract of the world." To document this he views the "slow growth of compass through fifteen centuries," and the ast ishing examples of its current operation private efforts, through UN and gove ment agencies, and in a host of other ar It is a stimulating and valuable comp tion, especially so as an indication of w we *could* do if, for a while, we would into the effort to help what we now into preparations to destroy. —A.

Timely Sermons from an Ancient Te

GENESIS FOR TODAY by Harold A. Bos Harper 1958. 206 pp., $3.75.

Here are twenty sermons all based stories or texts from Genesis. They are d in FOR Advisory Council member Bosl typically good style, biblically related thoroughly modern. One might wish t the pattern of the first two sermons been followed throughout since these tually discuss Genesis and concepts in t book.

But the deep insights in the other mons are adequate compensation. Writ of the current upsurge of interest in r gion, Harold Bosley says, "What we witnessing can easily be a modern vers of the old description of the Pecos Riv a mile wide and a foot deep."

In a sense the theme of these sermon the cultivation of a deep, mature relig ranging all the way from the individu need for emotional maturity to the nati

d for sanity. "Sputnik indicates that t of us have given up the image of or- ary human beings and are doing our iking in terms of a political and social em utterly different from our own. We poisoning ourselves."

le writes of social immaturity as "the t dangerous sin of our time." This in- des "the will to subordinate one group he will of another," as in our racial, nomic and military policies. "It must be r to honest men that any serious con- ation of policies based on such social naturity is not only a broad gate and a e way leading to destruction, but also we have found it and are traveling n it at a sickening speed."

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

The Drift and Thrust To War

E CAUSES OF WORLD WAR THREE by C. ight Mills. Simon & Schuster 1958. 172 $3.50 (cloth); $1.50 (paperback).

uring the past year or so, sociologist Wright Mills has spoken out with vigor insight against America's drift toward lear war. Among his best-known utter- es were "A Fourteen Point Program for ce" and "A Pagan Sermon to the Chris- Clergy," both of which appeared in *Nation*. *The Causes of World War ee* is an expansion of these articles and he Sidney Hillman Lectures on War and ce, with much new and valuable ma- al added.

With a clarity and directness reminis- t of Randolph Bourne, the radical so- critic of World War I, Mills strikes tly through the pretenses of "crackpot lism" on which U. S. foreign policy is ed and delivers a stinging moral rebuke those who would incinerate helpless ci- ans in the name of "responsible" policy. This disgraceful cold war," says Mills, surely a war in which we as intellectuals ht at once to become conscientious ob- ors." Like Bourne, he calls for think- men to extricate themselves from sup- t of or acquiescence in the going war- t policy of the state, and urges them to bvert the monolithic American dogma" which that policy rests. The first of two

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chapters on "Guidelines" suggests a ge eral program for peace, featuring milita disengagement, the conversion of arm ments production into economic and te nical aid to underdeveloped countries su as India, and a vast international progra of education and science. In the secon Mills sketches out a number of spec ways now open to those who want peac to expose the nakedness of the brinkme rhetoric, to clamor for Senate investigati of the drift towards war, to tug at t cloak of governmental secrecy in wh fateful decisions are concealed, and as dividuals to "make our own separa peace" with "our opposite numbers amo the enemy."

A few objections have to be made. Af stating that war is our worst enemy a calling for unilateral abandonment of "extermination" weapons, Mills endor the view that "the only sensible defense day is a citizen's army of riflemen." Mills not a pacifist, but neither is Sir Stephe King-Hall; it is too bad that Mills did leave room for the latter's proposals nonviolent resistance.

Some readers may wince at the blu ness of Mills' assault on the Christi church and its clergy for dishing out "mo tranquilizers" to calm the urge to mo passion and dim our faith in the relevan of Christian love. Others may be remind of the righteous thunder of Isaiah and Je miah. To those who are content to quiesce in the drift toward World War I Mills brings "not peace but a sword" and a sharp-pointed one. May it rouse all to rededicated action for that pea among nations which is not equanim but brotherhood. This is an intelligent a informative book. But more than that, is a provocative and audacious book. Eve one should read it. —W. R.

A CRUSADER IN AFRICA

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 24)

policies he hated, is not told here. Bu am satisfied that no hatred ever held sw over him except the hatred of injustice.

I conclude with the story of one i dent in Scott's campaign against the sh ing conditions in the farming district Bethal. After he had returned to Johan burg, he received a telegram asking h

ttend a meeting in Bethal of the *Boere-eids-vereniging*, the Farmer's Labor Association, to explain his actions. He eled in a car with several Johannesburg rnalists, and when they approached hal, it was clear that the whole white ntryside was pouring into the town.

The journalists thought it would probbe wiser if I were not seen among m. So I got down from the car and ked into Bethal, dressed in my old ki overcoat. After a cup of tea at a l café I went towards the town hall, ch was thronged with people. . . ."

What did he think of in that café? By time he knew that the whole white n and countryside was coming to see , the priest from England who had llenged the labor system on which their iety was based. He knew already that had aroused their anger, that he was eatening the "stability" and "order" of ir lives, and was encouraging in African nds the thought that Africans were an ressed people. Would he be assaulted, haps even mortally? What were the ple in the café saying? That here was foreigner who had abused the country's pitality, the embitterer, the agitator, the ble-rouser? Did he feel that the Lord served was there with him, perhaps even o death? Or was he thinking, with the smile of the experienced self-examiner, t eccentricity had this time carried him a really hot spot?

He does not tell us. But we are left with conviction that, like Francis of Assisi, sought not so much to be consoled as to nsole, and had to screw up his courage forego the one and do the other. He se a hard road for himself, and the in of it showed in his eyes and face. annot write of his saintliness, only his rage, though there must be cases where e is the same as the other.

Now though I have few qualifications to dge saintliness, and not many to judge rage, I imagine myself to be highly alified to judge writing. I therefore dere this to be a fine piece of writing, and chael Scott to be a fine writer; and I clare that if Michael Scott had not been busy crusading, he might have made ood living as a writer. *A Time to Speak* in the first rank of books.

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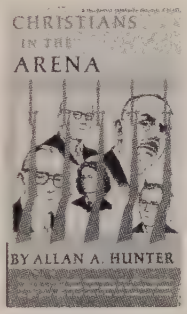

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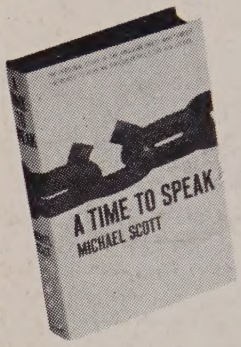

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